A BRIEF

SURVEY

(HISTORICAL and POLITICAL)

OF THE

Life and Reign

OF

Henry the III.

an. 1216

KING

OF

ENGLAND.

Dedicated to his most Sacred MAJESTY.

LONDON,

Printed for *James Vade*, at the *Cock* and *Sugar Loaf*, near St. *Dunstan's Church*, in *Fleet-street*. 1680.

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SACROSANCTÆ MAJESTATI

CAROLI SECUNDI,

DEI GRATIA, MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ,

FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ, REGIS;

FIDEI PROPUGNATORIS

CHRISTIANÆ; PACIS

PERPETUÆ INSTAURATORIS;

PUBLICÆ AUCTORIS

AUGUSTI SECURITATIS;

ET NATI BRITANNICI

AD ÆTERNITATEM

NOMINIS ET IMPERII;

QUAM HUMILLIME D. D.

CONSECRATURQUE HOC OPUSCULUM.

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A BRIEF SURVEY, OF THE LIFE and REIGN OF Henry the III, etc.

OPpreſs'd with the inſupportable Calamities of *Civil Arms*, and affrighted at the ſodain fall of a *Licentious Sovereign*, who was reported to have been Poyſon'd by a *Monk*; all men ſtood at gaze, expecting *Peace*, (the Event of their long *Deſires*) and *Benefit*, as the Iſſue of their new *Hopes*: Experience telling us that, in every *Shift* of *Princes*, there are very few either ſo Mean, or ſo Inopinionative, as not to pleaſe themſelves with ſome probable Object of *Preferment*. To content all, (*October* 19. 1216.) a *Child* aſcends the Throne, Mild and Gracious, but Eaſie of Nature, whoſe Innocency, and natural Goodneſs protected him throughout the various Perils of his *Father*'s Reign. Happy was he in his Uncle *William* Earl of *Pembroke* (the Guide of his *Infancy*;

fancy;) and no less fortunate, for thirty years after, whilst *Hubert de Burgh* (Earl of *Kent*) that *Fast* Servant of King *John*'s against the *French*, both in *Normandy*, and *England*, together with *Bygot* Earl of *Norfolk*, and *others* of like Gravity, and Abilities, had the management of Affairs. Publick *Distempers* were then very few, and such only as are incident to all *States*, the *Commons* greedy and tenacious of *Liberty*, and the *Nobility* of *Rule*: One violent *Storm*, 'tis true, was raised, by some old, constant *Followers* of his Father; as *Foulk de Brent* who, (though a *Forreigner*, yet) held at one time the Earldoms of *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedford* and *Buckingham*; *Brian de Lisle*, and some *others*. These being men of turbulent Spirits, and that could only Thrive by the *Way*, were very ill at ease in those days of *Sloth*, (as they term'd that Calm of King *Henry*'s Government) Beside that, the Justice of *Peaceable Times* urg'd from them, to the lawful owners, such Lands and Castles, as the fury of *War* had unjustly given them. Now perceiving by the *Uprightness* of the King, that Power of *Protection* should not be made a *wrong-doer*; they broke forth into such a *Rebellion* as ended not but with their *Lives*; declaring that those their Swords which had set the *Crown* upon their Sovereign's *Head*, when neither *Law* nor *Majesty* could, should now secure those *Acquests* to their Masters, when *Majesty* or *Law* would not. Thus we see how dangerous are too great Benefits of *Subjects* to their *Princes*; as rendring the *Mind* incapable of any other sense than that of *Merit*. This *Blast* being over, the Government felt no other affliction than the Common and Invidious Malevolence to Authority: Good and Great Men may preserve themselves from *Guilt*, but not from *Envy*; being still shot at, by the *Aspiring* of those that look upon themselves as *less* in *Employment* than they are in *Desert*. These Vapours, however, did ever vanish, without much trouble, so long as the *Helm* was steered by

Temperate

Temperate Spirits, and the King squar'd his Actions by the Rule of *Good Counsel*, and not of Young, Passionate, or single *Advice*.

Thirty years being now past and gone, and none of the old Guides of the Kings *Youth* left alive, but *de Burgh*; (a man in whom nothing of *Worth* was wanting, save *Moderation*) his length of days gave him the advantage of *Sole Power*, his Ambition furnishing *Desire* and *Arts*, to keep out others. This drew upon him the implacable malice of a great many, which was yet further augmented by the fresh *Honours*, and *Offices*, that the King was then pleas'd to confer upon him. Time had now wrought a *Revolution*, as in it *self*, so in the *Hearts* of the People, who had forgotten the late *Sufferings* of their Fathers, and labour'd under the surfeit of a *long Peace*; which having, probably, let in some Abuses, the Commons (to whom the *Present* seems ever *worst*) take the Alarm, fall to commending the *past Ages* they never remembred, and condemning the *Present*; though equally ignorant of the *Disease* of it, and of the *Remedy*. With these idle and usual *Humours*, struck in some of the young *Nobility*, that were warm and over weening, though altogether as *unskilful* as the rest: these fall to sullying the Wisdom and Integrity of the *Court-Officers*, by magnifying each casual mishap into a Crime, and exposing every Blemish in Government; and then having their Heads fill'd with certain *Ideas* and Phantastick *Forms* of *Commonwealths*, they flatter themselves that they are able to mold any *State* according to these *general Rules*, which in *particular Application* do still appear to be but idle and gross Absurdities. Being thus puft up in Opinion of their own worth, they begin to cast about how to get into *Employment*, a thing they had long desired, and now do sue for; and probable it is that the farthest of their *Aim*, as yet, was to be quiet Instruments in serving

the *Crown*, had they then been look'd upon as *fit*, and *well deserving*. But the King, having been recorded into a juſt veneration for the Counſels of the *Aged States-Men*, and reflecting that ſuch *Green Heads* were fitter for *diſordering* than *ſetling* Affairs, either denyed, or delay'd their *Requeſts*: for Princes will ever chuſe their *Miniſters*, *Equal* to, not *above* their Buſineſs, *Creatures* that are *only* theirs, out of meer *Election*, otherwiſe, without *Friends* or *Power*. Amongſt this unequal *Medley*, there were, of the *Nobility*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Glocester* and *Hertford*, darlings of the *Rabble*, Some of them upon the ſcore of their Fathers Merits, whoſe memories were held *Sacred*, as pretended Pillars of *Publick Liberty*, and oppoſers of *encroaching Monarchy*. Of the *Gentry* were *Fitz-Geoffrey*, *Bardolph*, *Griſler* and *Fitz-John*, Spirits of as much Arrogance, and Acrimony, as *Camp*, *Court*, *Country*, (the places from whence they were Elected) could afford any: *Theſe* were for accompliſhing by *open Force*, what the *other* ſought to effect by *Artifice*; but yet they were all of them equally Impatient to behold their *Ends* thus fruſtrated, and that ſo long as the King followed the Advice of the Earl of *Kent*, there would be no hopes of obtaining their deſires. Wherefore they became frequent in their *Conſults* and *Cabals*, day and night; and at laſt *Sommery*, and *Spencer*, two that were far in Opinion with the reſt, as being Gentlemen of *Foreign Education*, and better qualifi'd than was uſual for men of thoſe times, gave it as their Advice, that the ſureſt way to remove *Burgh* (that great, and good *Obſtacle*) out of the way of their Advancement, would be, to pry narrowly into his Actions, and ſide with his *Oppoſite*, *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; an ill many be in favour with the King, backing the *Motion* with this ſuggeſtion, that the *worſt* being driven out by the *worſt*, they ſhould be able either to make him with his own *Rice*, (which the higher he advanc'd

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would ſtill be the more viſible) and ſo remove him at pleaſure; or elſe, by ſuffering the King to deliver himſelf up to ſuch bad *Miniſters*, as would loſe him the Hearts, and Affections, of his People; they might thus plain the way to their own *Preferment*: Thus they projected the compaſſing of that by *troubling* the *State*, which, ſo long as it was at *quiet*, they deſpair'd of obtaining; and ſo far did the ſucceſs anſwer Expectation, that *Spencer* dy'd in actual Rebellion, *Juſticiarius Angliæ*, againſt his Maſter. This advice now being approv'd, and put in Practice; the corrupt and ambitious *Biſhop* is by money and addreſs eaſily brought over to the *Party*; and *Articles* are in all haſt forged, and preſented againſt the Earl; charging him with waſting the Royal *Treaſure*, the ſale of *Crown-Lands*, and (what theſe doubtful times held *Capital*) his allowing any thing that might create a *Rupture* between *King* and *People*; as his prevailing upon the King to revoke all *Patents* granted in his *Non-age*, and enforcing the People not to pay according to their Ability or the merit of the *Grant*, but whatever the *Miniſter* himſelf ſhould think fit to extort.

De Burgh clear'd himſelf of all the Branches of this Accuſation, ſave only the *Laſt*; under which he worthily periſh'd; for ſuch *Acts* as fill the Princes *Coffers*, are ſtill the deſtruction of their firſt *Inventers*; Bad times, we ſee, corrupt good Counſels, and prevail upon the beſt *Miniſters* to truckle to the *Luſts* of their Maſters: Therefore this King is not wholly to be excuſed, that could ſo eaſily give way to the blaſting the former Services of ſo faithful an Officer, for *that* wherein himſelf was *chief* in fault. But *Princes* are naturally more variable, and ſooner cloyed, than *other* men; their favours are more tranſitory, and as their minds are *Large*, ſo they without much difficulty overlook their firſt

Choice, limiting their *Affections* to their *Satisfactions*.

Winchester is now mounted into the Saddle, and Governs all; taking for his *Prime Instrument Peter de Rivallis*; (such another as himself) displaces the *Natives*, and advances (his Country-men) *Poictovins* and *Britains*, into Offices of the greatest *Trust* and *Benefit*; and draws the King into an ill Opinion of his People: Nothing touching the *English* so much to the *Quick*, as to be domineer'd over by *Foreigners*. Here it was that *Injustice* became the Arbiter of *Common Equity*, the *Law* lay gasping at the foot of *Faction*, *Peace* at the mercy of the *Seditious*, and *Oppression* crept into the *Bench* to pronounce upon points of *Right* and *Honesty*, so that the *Plot* of the tumultuous *Barons*, by this means, advanc'd it self without so much as a Rub: And had not the Loyal Part of the *Bishops* calm'd all, by humble and dutiful Perswasions, and by representing to his Majesty, that his supporting the Power of a Person whose insolent Carriage had but lately lost to King *John* his Father, *Normandy*, the *Love* of his People, and in *that* his *Crown*; and who at that very season was no less industrious in tempting *himself* to reject in Passion, the just Petitions of his faithful *Subjects*; the Case (amongst many others) of *Pembroke* the Earl *Marshal*, the Common Rights of whose Office were unjustly with-held from him; would inevitably provoke *Discontents*, and endanger the *Weal* of the Kingdom; the Rebellious *Lords* had, questionless, gain'd their End, by exasperating, and emproving this *Distemper* into a *Civil War*. *Denials* of Princes are ever to be suppli'd with gracious *Usage*, thereby, if not to cure the sore, yet, at least, to mitigate the *Sense* of it: But it is best of all, that all *Favours* proceed directly from *themselves*; and only *Refusals*, and things of *Bitterness*, from their *Ministers*.

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Thus now are the *Strangers* all remov'd and baniſh'd; *Rivallis*'s Extortions examin'd, by many ſtrict Commiſſions of *Enquiry*; the proud Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (turn'd off in diſgrace) is brought to experiment that *Power* founded upon *Injuſtice* is but *ſhort-liv'd*, and that in the *Favour* of Princes there is no *Medium* or *Subſiſtence* betwixt the *Higheſt* of all, and *Precipitation*. But the Lords finding themſelves ſtill (by this *Reformation*) fruſtrated of their evil Deſigns, began again to cheriſh the late grounds of the Peoples *Diſguſts*, by ſcattering querulous and ambiguous Speeches againſt his Majeſty, depraving and queſtioning his *Diſcretion*, and *Government*; and ſeeking by all the means, and arts imaginable, to ingratiate and glorifie themſelves with the ſordid *Rabble*: Inſomuch that the King (whoſe Nature was too mild for ſuch turbulent Spirits) was oblig'd afreſh, to caſt himſelf upon the Advice and Love of *Forreigners*, ſince no condeſcentions could purchaſe it at *Home*, where many demean'd themſelves like *Tutors* and *Controllers*, *few* like *Subjects* and *Counſellers*.

God, we know, governs the Hearts of *Princes*, and ſends them ſuch *Miniſters*, as the quality of the Subject meriteth: for *Montford* (a *French-man*) became the next Object of the Kings Delight; being a Gentleman of choice *Blood*, *Education* and *Feature*: And to ſo fond a degree did the heady affection of the *Sovereign* dote upon him, that, in his very Entrance into *Grace*, he made him Earl of *Leiceſter*, to the general diſſatisfaction of the *Nobility*; and gave him (to the no leſs offence of the *Clergy*, by violating the *Rights* of the *Church*) his Vow'd, Vail'd *Siſter*, to Wife. Some have denied this Act of the Kings to be more than common *Policy*, as making the Tie of his Favorites *Dependency* the ſtrength of his *Aſſurance*, ſo *Both* at his will. But *Montford* growing wanton, upon this dallyance of his Maſter; forgets *Moderation*; *Diſcretion*, in Youth,

Youth, ſeldom attending great and ſodain *Fortunes*. He takes the manage of all *Publick Affairs* into his own hand, and engroſſeth the diſpoſal of all *Favours* and *Preferments*; ſo that all ſuites are addreſs'd to him, and the King becomes (in effect) but as a *Cipher* ſet to add to this *Figure* the *more* of *Number*. Great is the Errour of a Prince when the *Hope* of the *Subject* comes to recognize it ſelf beholden to the *Servant*, for *that*, which ought to be acknowledg'd as the immediate Bounty and Goodneſs of himſelf: And though they are not to be deny'd the privilege of advancing above the reſt, ſome truſty *Friend*, to whom they may communicate their neareſt *Paſſions*, yet ought they ſo to temper the Current of *Favour*, as not to darken the Luſtre of their *Regalities*.

The Great and Graveſt Men beholding the *unworthy* thus to deal *alone*, in that which ought of Right, to have paſs'd through *their* hands; and to ſtep over all their heads, to the greateſt *Honours* and *Offices*; began to repine; but upon ſecond thoughts, they ran along with the riſing Grace of the Kings *Half-Brethren*, though *Strangers*, hoping, by this way of proceeding, to *divide* that Power which, otherwiſe, they ſaw it impoſſible to *Break*. Yet *Leiceſter*, being confident of his Maſters Love, and impatient of bearing either *Rival* in Favour, or *Partner* in Rule, oppoſeth them all: But he found, at length, in his *Ebb* of kindneſs, the fortune of *others*; and that the King could with as much eaſe tranſfer his *Phanſie*, as he had ſettled his *Affections*. And in truth, extraordinary muſt needs be the *Artifice* and *Addreſs* of that man, that is able to keep himſelf aflote in the ſtream of a *Monarchs* good Opinion; in regard that the change of his *Will*, (which for the moſt part is ſtrongly influenc'd by Phanſie, and ſoon cloyed) is hardly to be arreſted. To effect this, the *Favorite* muſt ſolely attend the Honour and Service of his Maſter

ſter; and (abandoning all other Conſiderations) inſinuate himſelf into his *inward Inclinations*; winding into a neceſſity of *Employment*, by diſcharging the *Offices* of moſt *Secrecy*, in reference either to *publick Service*, or the *Princes* peculiar *Pleaſures*: He muſt alſo be careful to ſuppreſs *Competitors*, by the hands of *others*, conceal in *Publick*, his own *Greatneſs*, by counterfeit Affectations of *Humility*; and in his perſute of *Authority*, he is to caſt a ſhew as if his *Promotions* were the work of *others*, or of *Conveniency*, rather than of any great *Ambition* of his own.

But now, upon this Advantage, the Reines of Rule were poſſeſſ'd by the ambitious *Lords* and entruſted (as *Henry Knighton* ſays) in the hands of the Kings *Half-Brethren*, *Adam*, *Guido*, *Godfrey*, and *William*; the King contenting himſelf (being left to act his own part, as before) with the *Shadow* only, and *Licenſe* of a great *Fortune*. And to ſay the truth, he was ever *Wyer-drawn*, when he was ſo happy as to have about him ſuch worthy Servants as would urge and ſuggeſt things that were for his Honour. But theſe *Maſters*, on the contrary, being puff'd up with the conceit of having no *Superiour*, made it their buſineſs by gentle Words and Flatteries, to ſeduce the unſteady mind of the King from the Path of *Reaſon*; thereby to gain to themſelves the privilege of doing what they liſt. So that they fell immediately to filling the *Courts* of *Juſtice*, and *Places* of *Truſt*, with their own *Country-men*; exacting of *whom*, *how*, and *what* they would; waſting the *Publick Treaſure*, and *Crown Lands*, to the enriching of themſelves, and dependents; ſetting Prices upon all *Offences*; and ſquaring the *Law* according to the *Rule* of their own *Breaſts*: And upon any Complaint of the *Subject* the uſual *Reply* of their Servants was, *How's ye help your ſelf*; *for the Kings Pleaſure's in my Maſters Pocket*? Nay to ſo inſupportable a degree of Licentiouſneſs did theſe *Strangers* proceed; that they,

they ſeem'd rather to have entr'd the *Land* by *Conqueſt*, than upon *Invitation*: they enforc'd upon the great men not *Obedience* only, but *Servitude* and reduced the meaner ſort to ſo wretched a degree of *Poverty*, that they might juſtly ſay they *had nothing*. Yet leſt the Groanes of his *People*, and the wickedneſs of his *Miniſters*, ſhould come to the King's Ear, by the means of good and able Men; they deny all ſuch the leaſt Acceſs: *Suſpicion* (being the beſt preſerver of her own *Deſerts*) ſtill keeps a ſtrict eye upon thoſe that have a due ſenſe of *Honour* and *Virtue*; as fearing *them* moſt. Thus by the *Inhability* of the Prince, the Government becomes a Prey to theſe *Lawleſs Minions*; which occaſions infinite Corruptions and Diſorders in all the *Members* of the *State*; all preſuming upon *his* weakneſs, do endeavour to graſp at an *Arbitrary Authority*, that they may make *Profit* of it, and eaſily permit the encreaſing of *Ill*, as the ready way to make their own *Fortunes*.

Theſe *Confuſions* were uſher'd in by a *Famine*, and *that* ſo violent an one, that the king is forc'd to direct *Writs* to the ſeveral Counties, to bury their Dead, they were ſo Numerous: The *Dearth* continues, and then fell the *Sword* to raging ſo terribly, that no man durſt walk abroad without *Arms*; all the *Villages* being left as a Prey to the tumultuous *Rabble*; who raving up and down, by the *Connivance* of ſuch as ought to have ſuppreſs'd them; it plainly appear'd, that the Factious *Lords*, whom the King ſuſpected, had fomented and given Life to the *Commotion*; Seditious *Peers* ever bringing *Fewel* to ſuch *Popular Fires*.

Neither was the *Church* it ſelf without a buſie Part in this *Tragical Scene*: For the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Lincoln* (being well-wiſhers to *Montford* and his *Faction*) were

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were far engaged. In ſuch Deſigns *Church-men* are never wanting; and the diſtaſt of the *eſtabliſh'd Government* as well *Eccleſiaſtical* as *Civil*, will ever be a *Knot* of *Strength* for ſuch unquiet Spirits, who are as greedy after *Innovations* in the *Church*, as in the *State*; and ever crying up ſome new *Model* of *Policy* or *other*; ſuch as is moſt reliſhing to the *giddy Multitude*, who (at this time) were mightily offended (and not without reaſon neither) at the *new Courts* of the *Clergy*, their *Pomp*, *Rapaciouſneſs*, and the *Extortions* of the *Pope*. This was a fair pretext for the factious part of the *Clergy* ſo far to perſue the *Orders*, *Ceremonies* and *Conſtitutions* of the *Church* with bitter *Speeches* and *Invectives*; that ſome of them incur'd the ſentence of *Excommunication* at *Rome*, and of *Treaſon* at *Home*: they enjoyning the Earl of *Leiceſter*, as he tendered his *Salvation*, to maintain the *Cauſe* (meaning his *Rebellion*) to the very Death; and aſſerting, that the *Peace* of the *Engliſh Church* was never to be eſtabliſh'd but by the *Material Sword*. But that could never (ſurely) be the ſoundeſt *Doctrine* (what ever might be pretended) which was only to be propagated by *War* and *Licence*; ſeeing the *firſt Church* (contrary-wiſe) grew up, by *Faſting* and *Prayer*. True *Piety* obliges the Subject to *deſire* a *Good* Sovereign, but to *bear* with a *Bad* one; and take the Burthen of *Princes* with a bended Knee; ſo, in time, to deſerve *Abatement*; rather than reſiſt *Authority*. *Church-men* ought not always, therefore, to be our *Oracles*, as to matters of *Loyalty* and *Allegeance*, they may ſafely inform us of our Duty in difficult Poynts of *Religion*; and where an humble ignorance is a ſecure knowledge, we may rely upon them; but they are not to be harken'd to in their clamorous *Harangues* againſt *Authority*.

Now to remedy all theſe Confuſions, and ſupply the Kings neceſſities, a *Parliament* was call'd at laſt; much to

the liking of those Lords, who as little meant to *Relieve* the *King*, as they did to *Heal* the *State*; their End, at that time, being only to lay open, at *Home*, the *Poverty* of their *Master*; lessen his Reputation, *Abroad*; and in those times of *Privilege*, to breath out their *Passions* freely. Here they began to twit him with the *Wrong* he had done to the *Publick*, in engrossing the choyce of the *Chief Justice*, *Chancellour*, and *Treasurer*; who ought not (they said) to have been Elected, but by the *Common Counsel* of the *Realm*; highly applauding the Resolution of the Bishop of *Chichester*, in refusing to surrender the *Great Seal*, but in *Parliament*, where he receiv'd it. Then they charge him with having conferr'd all the places of *Trust* and *Profit*, in his disposal, upon *Forreigners*; and leaving his *English Subjects* unrewarded; with having ruin'd the *Merchants* Trade by the introducing of *Maletolts*, and imposing of *Heavy Customs*; with having violated the *Common Liberty*, by *Non obstantes* in his *Patents*, thereby to secure *Monopolies* for his private *Favorites*; with having taken the *Bread* out of the Peoples mouths, and forced away their *Horses* from the very Plow; with sending his Justices into the Country, to oppress and fleece the *People*, by *fob'd Actions*, and false *Accusations*; telling him that Sr. *Robert de Pursloe* had extorted great Summs of money from the *Borderers* of his *Forrests*, upon pretence of *Encroachments*. So that they were amazed (they said) to hear, that he should now demand *Relief* of them; since the *Commonalty* was so miserably pill'd, pol'd, and empoverish'd, by the multitude of former *Contributions*, that they were incapable of making any sort of supply. And therefore they suggested to him, that, they being able to prove his needless Expences, since the Kingdom began to be oppress'd, to have amounted to above eight hundred thousand pound; it was but fitting that he should call to account, and pluck from his *Favorites*, who had gleaned the *Treasure* of the

Kingdom,

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Kingdom, and ſhared the old *Crown-Lands* amongſt themſelves: Several of them having, in a ſhort ſpace, from the Inheritance of an *Acre* advanced into the Poſſeſſion of an *Earldom*; inſtancing in the Caſe of one *Manſel* (an inferiour *Clerk*) who roſe from *Nothing*, to ſpend at the rate of four thouſand Marks (beſide fifty *Promotions* that he had engroſs'd, in the *Church*) in *annual Revenue*; they being of *Opinion*, that more moderate *Fees* ought to have contented a *Pen-man* that was no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a *Writing-School*. Yet they aſſured his Majeſty after all, that if a *Reaſonable Supply* would ſuit with his Occaſions; they were ready ſo far to teſtifie their Obedience in that particular, as his Behaviour ſhould fairly merit: ſetting a day (ſays *Matt. Paris*) by which the King was to redreſs the *Abuſes* and *Corruptions* of his *Court*, and work into the good Opinion of the *Nobles*.

The time being come, and he having ratified afreſh the *Great Charter*, admitted into his *Councel* ſome perſons of the Commons *Election*, and promiſed for the future to apply himſelf for Counſel to *Natives*, not Forreigners; they at length granted him ſuch an *Allowance* as left him at their *Devotion* for a *further Supply*. Thus *Parliaments*, that (*Before*) were ever a Medicine to heal up any *Rupture* in the Princes *Fortunes*, grew (*now*) to be worſe than the *Diſeaſe*; malignant *Humours* being more predominant in them than well-compoſed *Tempers*.

The King having by this, fully diſcovered the *Drift* of his rebellious *Lords*; and finding that they took advantage of his *Neceſſities*, to enſlave him; begins now to act the good *Husband*, cloſeth his hand of *Waſte*, and reſolves (though too late) to bear himſelf upon his own *Legs*. But this Experience is ſtill pernicious to the *Private*, and dangerous to the *Publick Weal* of a *State*; as not being

able to *do*, but by *undoing*, nor to discern *Order*, till *Disorder* shews it. And yet still Alas! such was his easiness and flexibility, when he came to be prest hard by his *French Minions*; that he was not capable of witholding his hand from their insatiable *Desires*, and endless *squanderings*: Insomuch that it then became a *By-word*, *Our Inheritance is possess'd by* Aliens, *and our Houses by* Strangers. Dependents upon a King that is excessive in *Largesses*, become exorbitant in their *Demands*; measuring them not by *Reason*, but example: *Past favours* are never reckon'd upon, nor any Bounty valued but what is purely *Future*; and look how much a Prince disables himself by *Giving*, so much the poorer he is of *True Friends*: such *Prodigality*, in a *Sovereign*, ever concluding in the Spoyl and Plunder of his *Subjects*.

But before the King would again submit himself to so many bold and strict *Inquiries* of his Disloyal Subjects, as he had endured the last *Parliament*; he resolves to try and undergo all shifts, and extremities, that necessity and a great mind, could impose upon him. First therefore, he exposes the *Crown-Lands*, then his *Jewels*, to sale; pawns *Gascoyn*; and after *That*, his *Imperial Crown*: And when his *Credit* would serve him no longer, (having so often fail'd of his word) nor any thing of his *own* left to raise mony upon; he then pawns the *Jewels* and *Ornaments* of St. *Edwards Shrine*; and at the long run, (being destitute of means to defray the Charge of his *Court*) was forced to break up house, and with his Queen and Children to press upon the *Charity* of his Subjects for his *Daily Bread*.

Having thus, by *Improvidence*, again reduced himself to this low *Ebb*; the Rebellious *Lords* grew more and more intractable, in Confidence that the *Sovereign Power* would,

now

now at laſt, inevitably fall a prey to their ambitious *Machinations*; which, that it might the ſooner come to paſs, they coveted nothing more paſſionately, than to drive the King into *Want*, that ſo they might conſtrain him to call a *Parliament*; as phanſying to themſelves that *Subjects*, at ſuch times, ſeem *more* than they ſhould be, *Princes, leſs*. In order hereunto, they take a great deal of pains to propagate falſe and ſeditious Rumours of the Kings intention to repair his broken *Fortunes* by the Ruine of thoſe of his *Subjects*; and that having nothing left of his own, he might and intended to force from *others*; further inſinuating, that Princes will never *Want*, ſo long as the people has the means of *ſupplying* them. This ſcandalous *Aſperſion* had the wiſhed for Effect; for it troubled the *State*; and the flame would queſtionleſs have advanced *Higher*, had not the King aſſwag'd it, by *Proclamations*; wherein he declared, that he was not inſenſible of the evil Arts that had been made uſe of to ſeduce his Liege People into an ill Opinion of his *Perſon* and *Government*, by falſe and groundleſs Suggeſtions and Surmiſes, of his deſigning to oppreſs them in their juſt *Liberties* and *Proprieties*; by ſuch undue practiſes (he ſaid) they laboured to withdraw them from their Duty and Allegeance: He caution'd them to give no heed to, and beware of ſuch malicious Diſturbers of the *Publick Peace*; and aſſured them, that he had made his Letters *Patent* purely to the end that they might be ſatisfied as to his readineſs and reſolution to defend them from the oppreſſion of the *Great Lords*, and inviolably to maintain to them their lawful *Cuſtoms*, *Privileges* and *Immunities*, in every Branch of them. But for all this yet, he found that *Majeſty* and *Right* were not to be kept aſtote, without *Purſe* and *Power*; and that himſelf wanted ſo much of *Both*, as was requiſite for ſtopping the Breach in his own *Revenue*, and his Subjects *Loyalty*: Wherefore he betakes himſelf, at

length

length to the Bosom of his People for *Relief* and *Counsel*.

He called a *Parliament* at *Oxford*; where his necessities encountered so many undutiful Demands, that he was forced to surrender to their rebellious *Will* his *Royal Power*. For the *Commons*, looking upon themselves as the Patrons of the peoples *Liberties*, press'd the King to give way to the entrusting the Manage of the *State* in the hands of *four and twenty*; *twelve* of them to be of their *own* Election, and the *rest* to be chosen by *himself*; who, in all things else, was left a meer *Cypher*: Nay, and even in *this* Case, either through *Fear* or *Negligence* he fill'd up his number with *Montford*, *Gloceſter* and *Spencer*; which errour, over and above the weakening of his own *Party*, won to those his late *Opposites* an Opinion of having got a great *Interest* in his Favour. This *Parliament* it should seem, never dreamt of a *Perpetuation*; for otherwise, they might, probably, have had it for the asking. But yet they got what served their Turn; for by this one *Act* he parted with his Right of *Electing* either *publick Officer* or *private Servant*; and brought himself under a necessity of dispoyling his *Half-Brethren* and their *Followers*, banishing them the Realm by an *Instrument* under his own hand; and of commanding his Writ *pro Transportatione Fratrum suorum* to be directed to the Earles of *Hartford* and *Surry*, to prohibit their carrying on Board with them either *Mony*, *Arms*, or *Ornaments*, other than in the manner prescribed. After their departure, he ordered the men of *Bristol* not to suffer any *Strangers*, or *Kinsmen* of his, to land in their *Port*, but so to demean themselves in this particular, as they would answer it to his *Lords* and *him*. Thus we may see how easily mens Estates do change in an Instant; and how difficult a thing it is to enjoy *quietly* what was gotten *unjustly*. And now *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, and *King* of the *Romans*, (King *Henrie's* own Brother) being at this time

time beyond the Seas, is by Letter tamper'd with underhand, to make a ſhew of Ratifying, by *Oath*, and *voluntary Conſent*, thoſe former *Reſtrictions* of *Regal Power*: which, though he ſubmitted to, yet would not the *Lords* ſuffer either the *King*, or *him* to enter *Dover Caſtle*; (the Key of the Kingdom) they having furniſh'd it and moſt of the other *Forts* of Reputation and Strength in the Nation with *Governours* of their own *Election*, and *Sworn* reſpectively to the *State*. The like aſſurance did they alſo exact of all *Sheriffs*, *Coroners*, *Bayliffs*, and other *Publick Miniſters*; examining the Behaviour of many, by ſtrict Commiſſion upon *Oath*; hereby to curry Favour with the *Vulgar*, who groaned under their late Extortions. But their Chief end in all this, was no other, (as it afterwards appear'd) than by diſplacing the faithful *Servants* of the King; upon pretence of their being teinted with *Malignancy*, to open a way for the introducing of their own *Dependents*.

Having thus changed the *Sole* Power into the Rule of *many*, and thoſe by *popular Election* too; they perſwaded themſelves, that by eſtabliſhing this Form of *limited Monarchy*, they had wholly ſuppreſt all thoughts of hankering afreſh after the whimſical humours of *licentious Soveraignty*. But it fell out quite otherwiſe; for now every man began to value himſelf upon his own *Abilities*, and to crack his Skull upon any Deſign that might probably enlarge the Boundarys of his *Authority* and *Command*. The *Grandees* alſo fell to rending and lopping off from the *Revenues* and *Segniories* of the *Crown*, all ſuch *Lands* and *Manours* as bordered upon any of their own *Seats*; preſſing upon the Kings Subjects, and Tenants, to a moſt inſupportable degree of Servitude. Inſomuch that by raiſing *petite Annuities* into great *Honours*, and tearing aſunder the *Royal Prerogative*; they made themſelves, (of

Subjects,

Subjects, whilſt they kept within the bounds of Duty,) ſo many *Tyrants*, upon the loſs of their *Loyalty*; involving the people in an extremity of *Slavery* and *Oppreſſion*: And yet they bore all with *Patience*; for *Cuſtom* being the only eaſe of Exceſs of *Miſery*, men were contented to lay the foundation of *Servitude* by the length of *Sufferance*; which found neither End nor Abatement, until the *quiet part* of the Kings *Reign*.

Now *Montford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spencer* (the *Heads of* this *Conſpiracy*) having, by the late Proviſions, drawn into the hands of the *twenty four Tribunes of the People*, the entire management of all Affairs; and finding this *Power* to be yet too much diſpers'd, to anſwer their Expectations; compelled the King to call another *Parliament*; where they got the authority of the *Twenty four* aſſigned over to *themſelves*, and erected a *Triumvirate* for their own ends only, and not for reforming Abuſes, and ſettling the Nation, as they at firſt gave out. And thus by the Gratification of theſe *Private* Intereſts, the *Publick* was ſtaid, for a time: But yet all this *Fuggle* and *Artifice*, was only to make the way the ſmoother for one of them to become *perpetual Dictator*. *Ambition* is never ſo high, but that it ſtill labours to advance a ſtep further; and that Station which lately ſeemed *Inacceſſible*, is now lookt upon but as a *Cocks-Stride*; that which was *Great*, in the *Perſute*, ſeeming *Inconſiderable*, in the *Poſſeſſion*. Theſe *Three* Elect *nine Counſellours* (*Three* of them at leaſt to make a *Quorum*) who were to diſpoſe of and fortifie *Caſtles*, and tranſact other Affairs of the *Realm*. But the *Chief Juſtice*, *Chancellour*, *Treaſurer*, and all other *Officers*, greater or leſs, they reſerve the Choice of to *themſelves*: binding the King ſo very ſtrictly to this hard *Bargain*, that he ſubmits to paſs an *Inſtrument* to them under the *Great Seal*, and *Oath*, whereby he actually diſcharged them from their Allegi-

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ance when ever he ſhould attempt to aſſume to himſelf the *Royal Dignity*; declaring it to be lawful (in ſuch Caſe) for the whole *Nation* to riſe up as one man, and, (having no *Obligation* to him) by force to reduce him into Order.

And yet not long after; this *Prodigy* of *Fortune* (whom ſhe had made a wretched *Example* of her *Inconſtancy*) finding no part of his *Soveraignty* left him, but the bare *Title*; and even *that* precarious too; craves Aid of *Pope Urbane*, the fourth, againſt his diſloyal *Subjects*; who arm'd him with *Excommunications* againſt all that ſhould not forthwith return to their Duty; and Cancell'd his *Oath*, and *Contract*; in regard that it was made when he could not properly ſay that he was at *Liberty*; *Force* having no power to create a *juſt Intereſt*.

But the *Lords*, having now imp'd their wings with *Eagles* Feathers, and liking no *Game* but what was rak'd out of the Aſhes of *Monarchy*; boldly make head againſt their *Soveraign*: And that they might be the better able to cope with him, call in the *French* to their Aſſiſtance. Thus again did the *Commonwealth* turn her Sword againſt her own Breaſt; and invite her antient Enemy to the Funeral of her *Liberty*; ſo that it was a great *Providence* that ſhe fell not, at this time, under a *Forreign Yoke*. Now though theſe men were much more apprehenſive of their own *Diſgrace* than of others *Miſeries*; yet could they find no better *Pretext* for *private* Intereſt, than that of the *Publick*. Wherefore at the entry of this Rebellion they cryed out for *Liberty*; though when it drew near an end, they never ſpoke *word* of it. Well! at *Lewis* the Armies met, and the King endeavours a *Reconciliation*, but in vain; for Arguments are ever unprofitable, when Juſtice is inferiour to Force. Wherefore the Sword de-

cides the *Controverſie*, and makes the two *Kings* and their eldeſt *Sons*, Priſoners.

The *Perſon* and the *Power* being now both of them in the hands of *Montford* and *Gloceſter*; found no other means of *Security*, or expectation of *Liberty*, than what the emulous *Competition* of *Greatneſs* (which began to break forth between theſe two mighty *Rivals*) gave hope of: For *Leiceſter* deſigning, (by engroſſing from his *Partner* the Perſon of the *King*, and ſecuring to his *Followers* the beſt part of the *Spoil*) to draw more fruit from this Advantage, than, in *Fellowſhip*, it could yield, diſſolv'd the Knot of all their *Amity*. Thus we may obſerve that *equal Authority*, with the *ſame Power*, is ever fatal to all great Actions; for to reduce minds to ſo even a pitch that they ſhould not have ſome ſtrings of *Diſagreement*, is abſolutely impoſſible. *Montford* having thus broken all faith with his *Confederates*, as well as *Duty* to his *Sovereign*; left the Path of *Moderation* and *Wiſdom*, to approach the King by that of *Haughtineſs* and *Diſtruſt*; plying him with pretences that his *Arms* and *Ends* were evermore directed to the good of the *Publick*, and the eaſe of the *People*; that in all *this* he entertain'd no private Paſſion, in oppoſition to the ſenſe of his Allegiance; but was capable of regulating his *Deſires* according to his juſt *Power*, and conſequently to his Majeſties *Satisfaction*, in caſe he would be rul'd; that is to ſay; (as he explain'd himſelf) command the *Forts* and *Caſtles* of his now *Oppoſite*, *Gloceſter*, and the reſt, to be deliver'd up into his hands. It was no eaſie matter, we may well imagine, for the King thus to be tutor'd by his inferiour, and Vaſſal: But *Neceſſity*, in ſuch Caſes, commonly bears down before it all *Formalities*: And therefore this poor Prince who (lying at the *Victors* Diſcretion) ſeem'd to have been rais'd, only to ſhew the *Inconſtancy* of *Fortune*, and the *Vanity* of man; ſuited himſelf

himſelf with incomparable *Wiſdom* according to the Exigences of the *Times*: Neither could *Humility* injure *Majeſty*, when the only means to contein Spirits ſo inſolent within due bounds, was *Diſſimulation*. Wherefore he ſummons, in Perſon, the *Forts* of his faithfulleſt *Friends* to yield to his greateſt *Enemies*; entering them, in ſhew, as his *Lodging*, but, in effect, as his *Priſon*; and ſees himſelf forc'd to take *Law* from him, to whom he lately thought to have given it. *Leiceſter* is now become the *Darling* of the *Rabble*, who eaſily crouch and change to every new *Maſter*; but yet the Sober and conſidering part of the Nation durſt not venture to ſayl along with his *Fortune*, by the Light of his *Glory*; as knowing well that *Cryſtal*, though it fairly glitters, yet is ſoon broken; and that as the *Aſcent* of *Uſurpation* is ſlippery, ſo the *Top* is tottering, and the *Fall* dreadful. To account this man therefore at the very height of his falſe Felicity to be truly *Happy*, was but to give the name of the *Image* to the *Mettle* that was not yet molten: For by *this* time the impriſon'd *Prince* had made an Eſcape, and was faſt aſſur'd of *Gloceſter* upon the ty of his *great Mind*, and *Diſcontent*. Wherefore they both of them united with tho ſhattered *Remnant* of the *Loyal Army*, and, by a ſpeedy march, *arriv'd* unlookt for, upon the banks of the unarmed Troops of the ſecure Rebels quartering about *Eveſham*; whom they inſtantly aſſayl'd; as knowing it to be no fit ſeaſon to give time, when no *time* could aſſure ſo much as *Expedition* promis'd. *Spencer*, and other *Lords* of that *Faction*, made toward the King for *Mercy*; but could not get clear of the Preſs, being hurry'd along the Stream, and periſhed in the Confuſion. We are to conſider that *Publick* Motion depends in a great meaſure upon the Conduct of *Fortune*, *Private* on our *own* Carriage: And we muſt take heed how we run down *ſteep* Hills with *heavy* Bodies, which being once in motion, are hurry'd on by their own

weight, and Stops are then no longer *Voluntary*. Now *Leiceſter* being at that inſtant with the King, and out of the *Storm*, might have got away; if his *Hope*, and *Courage* had not encreas'd his *Reſolution* with his *Misfortune*: He could neither abandon his *Followers*, nor his *Ambition*; ſo that improving *Adverſity* into an exerciſe of *Virtue*, he *came*, and *fell*.

The King being by this ſucceſful *Turn* freed and obey'd, began to enquire into the ground of his former *Miſcarriages*; and why that *Virtue* and *Providence* which had ſo long ſettled and ſupported the *Engliſh Empire* in the greateſt Luſtre and Reputation, throughout the Reign of his Glorious *Anceſtors*; ſhould now turn tail upon Him, and Confederate with his *Enemies*; to the almoſt abſolute deſtruction of the *State*, and as if her *Genius* had quite forſook her: Upon due *ſearch*, he finds his *ſquandering hand* to have made too bold with the *Subſtance* and *Eſtates* of his People; and that the rapacious Exorbitances of his *Civil Miniſters*, the Licentiouſneſs of his *Martial Followers*, his own harſh *Demeanour* and *Inacceſſibleneſs*, and his neglect of keeping his *Word*, had loſt him his *Nobility* at home: And that his *Neceſſities*, which forc'd him to make Merchandize of *Peace* and *War*, as his laſt Refuge; and to put himſelf into the power of Perſons *doubtful* or *injur'd*; together with his giving himſelf up to a *ſenſual Security*, and entruſting with the management of the *State*, baſe, griping and unworthy *Officers*, whoſe Counſels were ever more *ſubtle* than *Subſtantial*, had wounded his *Reputation* abroad, and thrown down thoſe Pillars of *Soveraignty*, *Credit* and *Veneration*. Wherefore he enters upon his regain'd *Authority* with *Gentleneſs* and *Clemency*; wholly paſſing over the faults of *moſt* of the *Rebels*: (A gracious kind of pardoning, not ſo much as to take notice of the Offence!) and ſo forgot the *Reſt*, that they might live,

but

but to the Glory of his *Goodneſs*; for the *fewer* kill'd, the *more* remain to adorn the *Trophy*. *Tyrants* indeed ſhed Blood for *Pleaſure*, but *Kings*, out of *Neceſſity*; And yet leſt his *Juſtice* and *Power* might ſuffer too much, by his *Grace* and *Mercy*, ſome *few* he puniſh'd with eaſie *Fines*, *others*, by Exile; as the two Guiltleſs, yet unpity'd Sons of the Arch-Traytor *Leiceſter*. So odious (we ſee) is *Treaſon* in the *Head*, that it involveth the innocent *Children* in an everlaſting *Diſtruſt*; and that which in others is but *Suſpicion*, in them is *Guilt*. Then he proceeds to confer upon the conſtant adherers to his broken Fortunes, the *Forfeitures* of his Enemies; but with much more *Warineſs* than before: as having found (by Experience) *immoderate Liberality* to be but a weak means to win *Love*; becauſe it leſt more in the *Gathering* than it gain'd in the *Giving*. A *Bounty* plac'd without *Reſpect*, is taken without *Gratitude*; diſcredits the *Receiver*, and detracts from the judgment of the *Beſtower*; blunting the *Appetites* of ſuch as draw their Hopes of Preferment from meaſures of Fidelity and Service. Thus at laſt he learn'd that *Reward* and *Reprehenſion* diſcreetly temper'd, do Ballance *Government*; and that it much importeth a Prince to keep that Hand *ſteady* and *equal*, that holds the *Scale*.

In the next place he appli'd himſelf to the correcting of his own *natural Infirmities*: Wiſely judging, that though the Princes *Manners* are only a *mute Law*, yet have they more of *Life* and *Vigour* in them, than thoſe of *Letters*. So that though he might now and then touch upon the skirts of *Vice*, yet was he ever after cautious of entering the *Circle*. And whereas the Crimes and Enormities of the great Men of his *Court* were, at this this time, become ſo extravagantly numerous, that they were drawn into *Example* and *Imitation*: He purg'd *this* likewiſe with ſingular exactitude of *Judgment* and *Severity*; knowing full well

that

that it was *it* that gave life to the *Moderation* or *Intemperance* of the Commonwealth.

He reduc'd the Expences of his *House* to the juſt Rule of his proper *Revenue*; and was often heard to ſay that *his former exceſſive ſquanderings had torn open an Iſſue of his Subjects Blood.* The Fury and Inſolence of the *Soldiery* (now become *Licentious*, by means of the *Civil Wars*) he ſpent and corrected by forreign *Expeditions:* which he was the rather induc'd to do, upon finding that the *peaceable* (only) bore the Burthen of all the late *Calamities*; and that the *other* were never ſatisfi'd, but in the miſeries of the Innocent; being as ready as ever, if they ſhould find no Enemies *abroad*, to ſeek out ſome at *Home.* Neither did he forget to examine or redreſs, by ſtrict *Commiſſion*, the Rigour and Corruption of his *Judicial Officers*; as apprehending, that the ſenſe of their *Severity* would raiſe a murmur of his own *Cruelty.*

He fill'd up the ſeats of *Judgment* and *Councel* with men of Noble Extraction. For ſuch do with leſs offence attract generous Spirits to reſpect and Veneration. He no longer meaſureth their *Abilities* by *Favour*, or *private Recommendation*, as before; but by *publick Vogue*: For though every man in particular may deceive and be deceived, yet is not poſſible for one man to deceive *all*; or *all, one.*

And the better to ſet off his own *Capacity*, and to diſcover to the World what part he intended, hereafter, to bear in all *deliberate Expeditions*; he ſits himſelf in *Councel* daily, diſpoſing Affairs of moſt weight, in his own *Perſon:* for *Councellers* be they never ſo wiſe, or worthy, are only *Acceſſaries*, yet, not *Principals*, in the ſupport of the *Government*; their buſineſs is *Subjection*, not *Fellowſhip*, in debates of moment; and they muſt be allow'd a Privilege

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ſege to adviſe, but not authority to *reſolve*. For as a particular Soul is eſſentially requiſite to the Life of a *Prince*; ſo is a ſupreme and unaccountable Power, of like neceſſity: Without the *one* he cannot be truly a *Man*, and without the *other* he can never be ſecurely a *Prince*. It doth alſo diſturb both the *Miniſter*, and the *People*, to be forc'd to pay obedience to one that is Incompetent of his own *Greatneſs*, and unworthy of his *Royal Fortunes*.

This wonderful *Change* in the *General State*, which ſo far diſpair'd (erewhile) of recovering her former *Liberty*, that ſhe ſought for nothing but the eaſieſt kind of *Servitude*; brought over the People again (with admiration) to the Kings *Devotion*, and their own *Duty*. So that whoever deſignes to lay a Foundation of *Greatneſs* upon *popular Love*, muſt be careful of ſecuring to them *Eaſe* and *Juſtice*; becauſe they are ever prone to meaſure the band of their *Obedience* by the benefit that they daily receive.

Now this *Calm* attended (ever after) this Kings *Age* and *Hearſe*; and he liv'd to train up his *Succeſſor*, and make him a Participant of his own *Experience* and *Authority*: His hard *Education* wean'd him from thoſe *Intemperances* which makes *Men* Inferiour to *Beaſts*, and prompted him to affect *Glory* and *Virtue*, which gave him a Superiority over *Men*. Inſomuch that all the Actions of his *Future Reign* were Exact Rules of *Diſcipline*, and *Policy*, and worthy the Imitation of his beſt of *Succeſſors*; who, as he was the *firſt* of his Name (*Edward*) after the *Conqueſt*; ſo was he alſo the *firſt* that thoroughly reform'd the *Abuſes* crept into the *Law*, and ſettled the *Commonwealth*; (juſtly meriting the Title of *Englands Juſtinian*) delivering the Nation out of the *Thraldom* of the *Peers*; and by all his *Actions* (afterward) approving himſelf capable himſelf

Thus by the *Injuries* of our *Enemies*, more than by our own *Deserts*, do we many times become both *Wise* and *Forewarn*.

FINIS.